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the attention of the publishers.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1919.

WHAT THE NEGRO WANTS.

Of all expressions recently made
public by members of the Race giving
the position of the Negro himself
on his own problem, none has come
to our attention that goes to the
root of the whole matter with more
precision and clearness than the
statement of Dr. Emmett J. Scott
which appeared in The St. Louis
Post Dispatch under date of August
10, 1919. Dr. Scott is eminently
fitted to speak for the race on any
subject concerning its welfare. Long
years of faithful devoted service to
the interest of the race at Tuskegee,
in the very heart of the black belt
of Alabama, and under the late
Booker T. Washington, Secretary of
the National Negro Business League;
Assistant Secretary of War during
the recent international conflict, have
given Dr. Scott an insight into the
many ramifications of the Negro
problem possessed by few men of
today and make him a most capable
interpreter of the desires of the race
in this country. He knows the souls
of black people in every section—
their aims, their hopes, their aspi-
rations. After discussing the late
race riots and other questions affect-
ing our people, Dr. Scott summarizes
as follows:

"To all your questions there is a
cheerful answer. If there is a crisis
in the race problem it is because the
nation has ignored, neglected and
pushed the problem aside. To solve
it we must face it—and who shall
say we are afraid to face it?"

"Special Equality" A Misnomer.

"Too often the whole question is
complicated and well meaning efforts
negatively by many persons North
and South, who confuse up the ap-
pearance of 'social equality,' a term which,
as often used, is a misnomer. Every
self-respecting Colored man and woman
concedes the right of every other
individual to decide whom his as-
sociates and companions shall be.
Nor is the Negro—and I think I am
rather well acquainted with the main
hopes and aspirations of my race—
desirous of imposing himself upon
anyone or any purely social group
in which he is not welcomed. But
that has nothing to do with the civil
rights and privileges to which every
decent man in the minds of these
nearly 200,000 black soldiers who
have returned from France, where
in the eyes of native men and women
they were not regarded as pariahs,
but simply as good fighting men who
knew how to do the job they were
sent to do.

"Nor do our people dream of us-
ing force to overcome those who
spitefully treat them, save within the
bounds of strict and instinctive self-
defense. What the Negro wants with
all his heart, and what America will
proudly concede him, I do believe,
can be stated very easily.

"In substitution for lynching he
wants justice in the courts; he wants
the privilege in the courts; he wants
the privilege of serving on juries;
the right to vote; the right to hold
office, like other citizens. He wants
better educational facilities, aboli-
tion of the 'Jim-Crow' car and of
discrimination and segregation in the
Government service; the same mili-
tary training and chance for pro-
motion in the army that white men
enjoy; desecration of the peonage
system, an equal wage better hous-
ing, better sanitary conditions and
reforms in Southern penal institu-
tions.

"That is the Negro problem. Does
it impose too much upon the great-
est democracy in the world? I can
not believe that it does."

To brief these things to pass, we
are constrained to say, the Negro
welcomes assistance from every
friend, be he white or black, Jew or
Gentile; reside he East or West,
North or South. This question is a
national question and it is going to
require the wisdom of every section
to settle it.

We fully realize that these things
can not be brought to pass within a
day; it is going to require much time,
much toil and some suffering. But,
since God is God and right is right,
they will surely come to pass. In
the mean time let us educate, let us
acquire wealth, let us be law abiding
and cease not to intelligently protest
against injustice.

The food of our children should not
be selected by themselves. They have
little knowledge of the relative value
of foods. This is too often true of
the parents. This would seem to be
an excellent field for a good social
worker to be of great use to the
race and to the community.

UNITY, THE GREAT NEED OF THE
RACE AT PRESENT.

This is an age of monopolies,
trusts, combines and unions. If one
must enter combat with a skilled an-
tagonist it behooves him to be armed
with weapons that will best insure
his success.

Concerted action and collective bar-
gaining have proven to be the most
effective weapons of this commercial
age. In fact, no class or race of
people can scarcely hope for success
unless it is thus armed. The Negro
race can not hope to be any excep-
tion to this most universal law.

Organization is an effective weapon
for both defensive and offensive pur-
poses. The faithful mandate—unite or
perish—has gone forth to the civil-
ized world. Shall the Negro race
plod heedlessly on whilst the rest of
the civilized world is organizing to
wage the greatest economic and in-
dustrial conflict the world has ever
known? The Negro people must get
together if the hope to secure for
themselves a reasonable portion of
the benefits that should come to the
victors in the great world's war.
During this period of reconstruction
and re-adjustment of the world's ac-
tivities to a peace basis, the voice of
the individual will not be heard.
Only large groups and organizations
will be able to obtain a hearing.

Where the world again swings into
her accustomed stride, with peace
guaranteed for ages by the "League
of Nations," grievances left unad-
justed may be compelled to await
another upheaval of the world's
peaceful relations. Hence at this
period the peoples of the entire civilized
world are pressing to have their
grievances adjusted.

Will the Negro unite his forces
and for once present an unbroken
front to the world in order to obtain
a hearing at this most opportune
moment? Do not forget that this
is a time of reconstruction. A time
at which every race and class of
people is trying to secure a berth
in which it may be compelled to re-
main perhaps for centuries. Each
one seems to think now is the psy-
chological moment for the adjustment
of his grievances.

In our humble opinion the peoples
of the world are not mistaken. Now
is the time for re-adjustments. Let
the Negro people be a unit as to
those grievances which most affect
their economic, industrial and so-
cial welfare. When our leaders ap-
pear before the proper tribunal for
the re-adjustment of those evils that
have proven such in the past, they
must feel that a united race stands
at their back and supports their
every contention.

Be law-abiding citizens and de-
mand equal protection from the law-
makers.

Colored men and women, be con-
servative in your style of apparel—
fashion is merely mob violence run-
ning wild.

The Negro is not a degenerate, he
is undeveloped. Herein lies his hope
of the future.

The effort to make the Negro an
ideal citizen has not received the
attention by our leaders that its im-
portance demands.

Individuals may not usurp the ma-
jesty of the law in the administra-
tion of justice. This is the work
for which the courts were established.

Congress may legislate in our be-
half; the courts of justice may find
in our favor; but public opinion,
alone, has the power to place our
rights within our reach.

The necessity of sanitary conditions
about our homes can not be too often
nor too firmly impressed upon our
people and the general public.

The results of the great world's
war, in so far as it directly affected
the Negro race have been very dis-
quieting. The effect in many ways
has been directly opposite to that
anticipated. We have often heard it
said that "where ignorance is bliss
it is folly to be wise." Could it be
possible that the Negro soldier be-
came wise upon matters that were
detrimental to his own interest? One
thing is sure, the consensus of
opinion of the Negro, is that the
war has not given him a firmer grasp
upon the objections of his white
neighbor.

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES
OF CHRIST IN AMERICA.

(Continued from page 1).

Our country has in this crisis not
only its own conscience to satisfy,
but also to justify itself as a nation
before the enlightened opinion of
mankind. As a foremost exponent
of ideals of democratic government,
the United States has been lifted to
the full view of the world. Our
present settlement therefore of race
relations will influence in a very
large measure the settlement of race
relations in other parts of the world.
We must face frankly the fact
that a most dangerous inter-racial
situation now threatens our country.
The problems growing out of the
presence of two races in America
are clearly seen to be nation-wide
and the adjustments must necessarily
be made on the basis of national
responsibility. The migration of
thousands of Negroes to the North
emphasizes this fact. The outbreak
in several cities and the persistence
of the anarchy and treason of lynch-
law imperial our democracy.

The actual practice of the prin-
ciples of the brotherhood of Christ
can prevent such conflicts and noth-
ing else will. The church must offer
the ideals, the program and the lead-
ership in this crisis. The church
must meet its obligation, or leader-
ship will pass not only to secular
agencies, economic or socialist, but
to forces that are destructive of civil-
ization.

We must confess that the church
and its ministry as related to the
welfare of the Negro has been too
little inspired by the fundamental
principles and ideals of Jesus Christ.

Communities that have expressed hor-
ror over atrocities abroad, have seen,
almost unmoved and silent, men
beaten, hanged and also burned by
the mob.

The Negro has ever shown pro-
found faith in God and has always
looked to the church for leader-
ship, for counsel and for guidance.
The church which for fifty years has
a record of almost unmatched ser-
vice in the education and betterment
of the race will now be forced to
her trust and lose her birth-right of
service if she does not meet this
confidence with a full sense of re-
sponsibility and a full measure of
service for justice, peace and good
will. To this end we therefore urge
upon the church, her ministry and
membership this constructive pro-
gram:

A Constructive Program for Just
Inter-Racial Relations.

1. The Government, local, state
and national, should impartially
guarantee to all classes security of
life and of property. Mob violence
is becoming a crowd habit. When life
and property are ruthlessly taken,
when men and women are lynched
with no protection from officers or
courts, law and order are trampled
under foot. We call upon the pulpit,
the press and all good people to
create a public sentiment that will
support necessary legislation for the
enforcement of existing laws, that
life, liberty and the pursuit of hap-
piness may be equally assured to all
classes.

2. The Negro should have econ-
omic justice, equal opportunity to
get and hold work on the same
terms as other men, with equal pay
for equal work, and with fair work-
ing and living conditions. The en-
trance of large numbers of Negroes
into the various industries empha-
sises the necessity of an immediate
amicable adjustment of relations of
relations with white employers and
fellow-workers.

3. We call upon men and women
everywhere to protect the sanctity of
home and womanhood. We record
with satisfaction the growing enlist-
ment of Negro leaders in a program
of education and Christianization
such as tends to prevent crimes that
provoke mob violence. The home of
the Negro should receive the same
measure of respect and protection as
that of other Americans, and the
sanctity of his home relations should
be safeguarded in every possible way.
Swift and impartial action of the law
should strike the violator of the
sanctity of any home, white or black.

4. We recognize as fundamental
to the welfare and efficiency of so-
ciety that adequate re-creational pro-
visions be made available for Negro
citizens.

5. We strongly endorse the plea
of the Negro for equal traveling ac-
commodations for equal charges.

6. Adequate educational facilities
for Negro children and youth should
be provided not only as a national
obligation but also as a necessity
for national welfare. We emphasize
the urgency of giving to the Negro
his full share of local national funds.

7. Qualifications for franchise
should be administered, irrespective
of race, creed or color.

8. Closer co-operation between
the races should be promoted by
organizing local committees of white
and Colored people in towns and
communities for the consideration of
inter-racial welfare. All possible
agencies should be enlisted in foster-
ing a spirit of justice and of good
will in the relations of one race to
the other. We recommend that the
governor of each state appoint a
standing committee for the careful
study of the causes underlying race
friction with a view to their removal
and that Congress be requested
through a non-partisan committee to
investigate the disturbed and threaten-
ing inter-racial situation throughout
the nation.

Racial understanding and co-opera-
tion furnish the only sure basis of
race adjustment in a democracy. The
root of the matter is the failure to
recognize the Negro as a man. The
basis of distress on both sides is
fear, and "fear hath torment." Re-
spect for Negro manhood and woman-
hood is the only basis for amicable
race adjustment, for race integrity
and for permanent racial peace. If
we talk democracy, let us act de-
mocracy. If we propose a democratic
program for the protection and
self-determination of the weak and
oppressed people of Europe as a
means of permanent peace and good
will abroad, let us apply the same
program at home.

FRANK MASON NORTH, Pres.,
Federal Council of the Churches of
Christ in America

ALBERT G. AWSON, Chairman,
Administrative Committee.
WILBUR P. THIRLIELD, Chair-
man of the Committee on Negro
Churches.

CHARLES S. MacFARLAND,
General Secretary.

PRESBYTERIAN WOMEN ENLARGE
WORK FOR NEGROES.

St. Louis, Mo., Sept. 13.—Southern
Presbyterian women are planning en-
larged co-operative activities among
Colored women. Local auxiliaries will
be asked to take up needed work
among home Negroes some-what along
the lines worked out by Southern
Methodist women. The Board's Con-
ference work for Colored women, so
successful at Tusculoo, Ala., will
be extended to their states. The
Tusculoo Conference, at Stillman
Institute, opens this year, September
20th. Delegates attend from every
Southern state, most of them being
sent by white women of the various
denominations and of the women's
clubs. Colored women who show in-
terest in bettering the conditions of
their people, or who possess powers
of leadership, are sent by these white
groups to the Conference. Railroad
fare and ten dollars for board and in-
cidentals cover all expenses. Coun-
sels are given by experts of both
races in the Bible, home-making, care
of children, community betterment,
etc.; and the communities to which
the students return usually show the
effects of their broadened outlook
and training. It is expected that
this year's attendance will be the
largest yet recorded.

THE MIRROR OF
PUBLIC OPINION

COLORED WOMEN IN INDUSTRY.

The work of Colored women dur-
ing the mobilization of women pow-
er to fill men's places proved that
the Colored woman has her place
in industry and is capable of main-
taining high principles of efficiency.
In many cases the unskilled labor
fell to her lot and we found her
doing very heavy work in brickyards,
sawmills, and glass factories. The
railroads employed her in great
numbers to do yard-work and track
her doing cleaning. But then she
also found that she needed in labor
which required more skill, in knit-
ting and clothing mills, in under-
wear, button, embroidery, and feather fac-
tories.

In one place which was working
two shifts, white women had the
day shift and Colored women the
night shift. During a given length
of time the output of the two shifts
was compared and the Colored wo-
men averaged 1500 more shells than
the white.

A group of Colored women in one
city were found dipping clay in glaze
and stacking chipping impurities
from clay shoveling and wheeling
rock, trucking brick, and loading
scrap iron. In some of these cases
the women were being paid less than
men whose places they were so effi-
ciently filling. The wages paid to
men were three dollars a day for
shoveling in a clay bank, but the
women who released them for the
Army were given a dollar or half
dollar less. To prevent conditions
like these and the lowering of labor
value means that Colored women
must be organized, just as our white
women need organization.

Women have come into industry
to stay, and "women" means Colored
as well as white. Their industrial
problems are the same—conditions
of work, pay, hours, housing, and
recreation. The adjustment of labor
includes the Colored women. To
meet her needs the Young Women's
Christian Association has already es-
tablished eight industrial centers.
—Southern Workman.

THE POWER OF PUBLIC OPINION.

Let us face the facts; if the Negro
secures the adoption of his maxi-
mum program of progress, it will be
when and because public opinion
adopts it for him. If a city in the
South or in the North makes life
more cheerful and hopeful for the
Negro, it is because the public opin-
ion of that place demands it, if a
State gives better protection to the
Negro than heretofore, it will be
when and because public opinion
demands it; if mob rule is super-
seded by the reign of law, it will be
when and because public opinion
decries it; if the highest privileges
of manhood in this country are given
to the Negro, it will be when the
public opinion of the nation decides
that it must be so. Legislatures,
Congress, municipal and public ser-
vice corporations are but instru-
ments of the public will, moving
when and as public opinion com-
mands. The case of the American
Negro, then, must be pleaded before
the bar of public opinion in the
South, in the North, in the East,
in the West. It must be pleaded, first
of all, by the life of the Negro; by
his patriotism; by his economic, in-
tellectual, and moral contributions
to American life; by circumspect
conduct; by a patience which must,
at last, put injustice and caste to
shame. And then with these as the
background, the Negro's case must
be pleaded by the written and oral
word from his own race and from
those of the white race who may be
inclined to help him—pleaded in
season and out of season before the
conscience and the intelligence of
the American people.

ISAAC FISHER,

In the Southern Workman.

EDITORIAL ECHOES.

Germany is always ready to change
sides, to repudiate a pledge, and to
betray a friend; but amid all her
indefinites she is ambitious. If Ger-
many cannot actually rule Russia,
and possess the vast potential riches
of the Slavic dominions, Germany in-
tends to rule the rulers of Russia,
whenever they may be. Therefore it
was first of all necessary to weaken
Russia; and as no solvent more ef-
fectually destroys the national fibre
than the vitrol of anarchy, so Ger-
many inspired, encouraged and bribed
the Bolshevik leaders in Russia.
—London Morning Post.

THE FOLLY OF WOMEN'S FASH-
IONS.

And now more men are being blamed
for fashion's follies. Men in general
are responsible for the "contortions"
which women undergo in order to
wear so-called fashionable clothes,
according to one of the speakers be-
fore the International Conference of
Women Physicians in New York. Man
likes to have a "little, useless lily
about the house" to flatter his con-
fident that he can afford such a luxury,
this physician declared. Even the
shoe manufacturers are made part-
ners to the great male conspiracy to
encourage extravagance and folly in
styles. They are blamed for high
heels by which "the whole interior
arrangements of women are being
thrown out of plumb."

Extravagant dress is what? Hear
the words of the speaker: "It is de-
mocracy running riot. It is a class
matter. There is an inherent snob-
bishness in overdress. Women who
indulge such tastes are aping the
fashions of old aristocratic Europe."
Man is a long-suffering creature.
He is patient enough to bear the re-
sponsibility for many of the incomp-
prehensible things women do. Doubt-
less he is to blame, either directly or
indirectly for many of them. Others
he is willing to overlook with the
passing remark, "Well, you know how
women are." But to say that men in

general are responsible for the follies
of our present-day styles—for all of
them—this is too much! A few men
may lend encouragement to the idea
of high heels, but the vast majority
would like to see women wear such
sensible foot apparel as at least
would prevent the impeding of traf-
fic and innumerable accidents, to say
nothing of the matter from a health
standpoint. A few men may take
delight in the fashion that calls for
the wearing of furs, or, if you please,
tulle, in the hottest days of summer,
and then for uncovered necks in mid-
winter—a few perhaps, but not men
in general.

We refuse to believe that men in
general are responsible for the "con-
tortions" which women in general
undergo. If we did believe it, we
would not admit it, but straight away
we would exert every endeavor to
awaken men to their culpability that
not only would be undermining the
health of their womenkind and render-
ing them more liable to accidents,
but would be making them appear
ever more ridiculous as the seasons
go by.

—Nashville Tennessean.

SOMETHING NEW IN MOTORS.

The newest things in automobiles
is found not in Detroit, as one might
suspect, but in California, where a
man has fashioned an automobile
body from a section of a giant red-
wood tree, eleven feet in diameter
and nineteen feet long.

The mammoth tree has been hol-
lowed out and contains tree compart-
ments so that it surpasses in beauty
and rivals in comfort the modern
three-room apartments that are so
much in demand by our "cliff dwell-
ers," at fifty or sixty dollars per
month. There is the bedroom, dining
room and kitchenette, electrically
lighted and equipped with all modern
conveniences, mounted on the chassis
of a big motor truck, capable of
"taking you there and bringing you
back."

The car is called the "Travel-Log,"
a rather happy name for the unique
automobile that is to make the owner
and his family independent not only
of hotels when they travel, but wholly
care free of the housing problem in
so far as it relates to their immediate
requirements.

The question naturally arises as
to the rights of the "Travel-Log,"
to squat on the public highways,
which belong to the people. In At-
lanta, where there are scant parking
restrictions, this unique automobile
might establish itself in our most ex-
clusive residential section or on our
most crowded downtown street, or
even in one of our parks and there
remain until the children of the
household have grown to maturity.

The designer of the "Travel-Log"
may have started something that our
lawmakers have not foreseen, but
even so we suppose that our park-
ing problem will remain dormant un-
til the unique automobile comes from
California to bring the issue square-
ly to a head.

—Atlanta Journal.

THE PURSUIT OF WAGES.

To the Editor:

What do you think that most peo-
ple think most about, the work that
they do or the wages that they get
for doing it? And are they more in-
tent on doing good work or on get-
ting high wages?

I ask these questions because it
seems to me that people—very many
people—are nowadays so absorbed
with the pursuit of wages that they
give next to no thought to the work
that they are expected to do for the
wages that they receive.

This unfortunate condition is true
among workers of every degree and
class. True of workers really hard
pressed by the high cost of living,
it is no less true about many a work-
er whose pay amounts to thousands
of dollars perhaps, hundreds of thou-
sands, every hour.

While the small wage earner goes
to the desperate extreme of refusing
to work at all unless his demands
for an increase in wages is met,
then the big wage earner strives with
equal vigor to get his wages raised
by cunning manipulation of the pro-
ducts and materials he happens to
control.

It is a hard contest, this pay strug-
gle.

The sad part of it is the more a
man succeeds in this struggle the
less contented he becomes.

It is inevitable in view of the na-
ture of man and the purposes of life.
Those who forget their work in the
hunt for wages are never satisfied.
That is the penalty that they
have to pay. They are discontented,
restless, nervous and grow worse and
worse.

Crime is abroad and the hospitals
for the insane are becoming more
and more crowded, the services of
specialists for nervous afflictions are
more and more in demand. It is an
age of stress and conflict.

Many remedies are proposed. There
can be only one real remedy. Peo-
ple must be brought to see that self-
forgetfulness in service is necessary
to real property and peace of mind.
So long as people do not see this,
so long as their gaze is fixed on the
reward and not on the deed, just so
long will misery prevail. The
wage raising scale may be raised to
the end of time without mending mat-
ters one bit!

There is too much quarreling about
ways and means. There is too much
self and too little sympathy! This
is true in all classes of society. In
the cottage and in the palace!

The road to happiness is not paved
with dollars. Contentment can come
with abundant and fervent effort for
the winning of the race. This needs
to be impressed upon the minds of
this, our generation!

—Muskogee Phoenix.

LAWYER A. S. WELLS
ON THE RACE QUESTION

Let the Facts Be Known.

There seems to be a general dis-
position on the part of self-consti-
tuted Negro leaders to misrepresent
and misinterpret the position of a
large majority of our people, repre-
sented the best thought among the
race, abroad to the end that all the
facts may be known, and that no
person or association of persons and
the press of Texas, may not be mis-
guided and misled, we ask the publi-
cation of the following:

Race Riots.

We challenge any man to point
to one single instance where a race
riot has been caused and occasioned
by black people.

We are among those who scout
the idea of Negroes inciting a race
riot and we have every reason to be-
lieve that no race disturbance will
ever be precipitated by Negroes in
this state.

The Unrest.

We admit that there was, some
weeks ago, an unusual unrest among
some of our people throughout the
state of Texas. We further concede
and admit the fact, that there existed
some apprehension among the white
people on the seriousness of the re-
lation between the whites and blacks.

These conditions came about and
were the direct result of race riots
in actual progress in other sections
of this Country, and the black man's
fear that a riot would be precipitated
at any time, any where. These
things caused unrest among our peo-
ple. The unrest among the white
people was caused by the alleged
buying of arms by Negroes all over
Texas.

This general unrest has passed
and all good citizens feel relieved
of the strain; we all feel that noth-
ing of a serious nature will happen
between the whites and black in
this state.

Are We Satisfied.

The Rev. L. L. Campbell of Austin,
General Superintendent of St. John's
Orphanage, takes the position that
the Negroes of Texas are perfectly
contented and happy over their
plight in Texas.

In the first place, we desire to in-
form the public that this divine is
in a large measure a dependent
creature and the institution which
he represents is largely dependent
upon the voluntary contributions
from the liberal element of the
whites in this state for the sustain-
ance and maintenance, and every
right thinking Negro can and does,
read between the lines. He is making
an herculean effort to capitalize his
institution at the expense of the
race by giving the whites the wrong
impression as to the attitude of the
Colored people of Texas, in that
he speaks for the whole race and
alleges that the Negroes are abso-
lutely satisfied with their present
condition. This expose and dictum
is calculated to, and will doubtless
serve his purpose. This position is
primafacie evidence with many white
people that Mr. Campbell is a good
Negro; that he is the logical leader
of the race; that he giving his peo-
ple wholesome advice and therefore,
is entitled to large donations and
contributions for his orphanage.

We submit, however, that the white
people who are broad, liberal and
who stand for a square deal, know
that no Negro can be satisfied with
and who stand for a square deal,
know that no Negro can be satis-
fied with condition as they now exist,
and they have information that we
are not satisfied from every con-
ceivable source. They know that we
are taxed without representation;
they know that all of the discrimina-
tory laws upon the statutes books are
construed strictly against the Negro
and most favorably to the whites;
there are flagrant and open violations
of the Jim-crow laws every day by
the whites with impunity and they
know that they will not be prosecuted
for the offense.

In many cities in Texas, we pay
park tax, public library tax and yet
we are denied all the park privileges
and not permitted to even borrow